# LABOR GLARION

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No. 12

# THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.

The industrial crisis foreshadowed for many weeks has been reached.

To-day San Francisco faces a situation almost as grave as that which confronted us thirteen months ago.

Then we had to face conditions created by the forces of Nature, and, for a time, our citizens acted as a unit in making efforts to reestablish our industries, to rehabilitate our institutions, and to rebuild our city.

For a time class distinctions, class prejudices, personal and factional enmities were laid aside or forgotten, and all had their shoulders to the wheels of Restoration and Progress.

The conduct of our people—one and all—during those terrible days excited the admiration of the entire civilized world.

Few, if any, outside of San Francisco even dared to hope that we could, within a quarter of a century, if ever, restore the grand city that was destroyed by earthquake and fire thirteen months ago.

Within those thirteen months we have worked miracles in the matter of rehabilitating our industries and restoring and rebuilding our wrecked and burned structures.

To-day we are in imminent danger of losing the ground we have gained and postponing our work of rehabilitation for years.

Why?

Because a small number of men, in control of a vast amount of capital, have determined that it is to their interest to cripple, if not destroy, the labor unions of San Francisco.

And the ruling spirit of this band of unionbusters is Patrick Calhoun.

Next, but in importance of lesser degree only because of lack of opportunity to inflict as great injury as can Calhoun, stands Henry T. Scott.

These two men, because of their disposition to regard their employes as mere machines—machines that require neither care nor consideration, that can, without cost, be cast aside the moment they cease to be profitable—have paralyzed the industrial forces of a great city by crippling the ordinary avenues of transportation and communication.

Calhoun has, day after day, insisted, in interviews and signed statements, that the strike of the street carmen is due to the machinations of a small group of radicals in the Street Carmen's Union, and has intimated that elements outside the union have also been instrumental in causing the strike. Many people appear to believe that these accusations are true, and that the responsibility for the grave situation that now confronts our city does not fairly rest on the shoulders of Patrick Calhoun. The facts, however, are entirely at variance with this view of the situation.

The Street Carmen, it is true, demanded a uniform wage of \$3 for eight hours, but it is also true that, with a desire to avoid a situation which would force them to strike, they delegated a committee to call on Calhoun and negotiate a settlement of the controversy on terms which they were justified in believing would be acceptable to him. When, however, the Carmen's committee met Calhoun on the day following the midnight meeting of the 7th inst. the members were amazed to learn that Mr. Calhoun had radically changed his position. Tuesday afternoon—seven or eight hours before the Carmen met in the Central Theater -Calhoun intimated his willingness to close the controversy by accepting the Oakland scale of wages. As has been heretofore stated, this scale ranges from 30 cents an hour for new men to 40 cents an hour for men who have been in the employ of the company for ten years. Under this scale fully 65 per cent of the platform men in this city would suffer a reduction of I cent an hour, as under the award of the arbitration board the platform men receive 31, 32 and 33 cents an hour for the first, second and third year of service, while the Oakland scale calls for 30, 31 and 32 cents for similar classes of men. Naturally, the Street Carmen of this city resented the suggestion of having the wages of 65 per cent of their number reduced, consequently when the committee called on Calhoun on Wednesday, the 8th inst., it was proposed that the Oakland scale be taken as a basis of settlement, provided that an arrangement be made whereby the 31, 32 and 33 cents an hour men should not have their wages reduced. It transpired, however, that this decidedly fair proposition was not agreeable to Mr. Calhoun. He astounded the representatives of the Carmen by making a proposition under which men hereafter to be employed by the United Railroads should start at 27 cents an hour.

Of course it was preposterous to suppose that such a proposition would find favor with the Street Carmen, and Calhoun knew that to be so when he made it. In other words, when the representatives of the union, after the situation had been thoroughly discussed at a meeting attended by over 1700 men, called on Calhoun prepared to negotiate an amicable settlement-prepared to arrange for a wage agreement on a basis which Calhoun himself had practically declared would be satisfactory -he deliberately destroyed the last chance of averting a strike, insisting on terms that he well knew would never be accepted. In fact, Calhoun demonstrated the fact that he wanted a strike, that it was his belief that he had more to gain in dollars and cents by precipitating on this stricken city an industrial conflict that would be a disaster second only to that of thirteen months ago.

When the Conference Committee of the Street Carmen reported to the Executive Board of the union the result of its last conference with Calhoun, the board decided to call a second midnight meeting of the Street Carmen, and this was held at the Central Theater last Saturday night. During the several days preceding this meeting the daily press teemed with stories regarding the method by which the Carmen would decide their future action. Calhoun and his representatives insisted that if the men took a secret ballot on the questions at issue that there would be no strike-that the men would accept his terms. It was freely charged that the men were to be intimidated by their officials, that outside influences were at work, determined, if possible, to torce a strike. The naked truth, however, is that at no meeting of a labor organization held in this or any other city has there ever been given a freer expression of opinion than

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#### SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL.

#### Synopsis of Minutes of the Regular Meeting Held May 3, 1907.

Meeting called to order at 8:20 p. m., President Bell in the chair; minutes of the previous meeting approved.

CREDENTIALS—Boot and Shoe Workers,' William Cannon, vice C. Peterson. Mailers No. 12, F. Barbrack, Geo. Wyatt, vice M. T. Alsop, L. E. Bangs, Carriage and Wagon Workers, Geo. Hasslebach, A. Weisman. Sail Makers, Alfred O'Brien, vice F. Hofmann. Boilermakers No. 205, H. Gildea, D. Kane. Stationary Firemen, W. Talbot, vice J. H. Smith.

COMMUNICATIONS—Filed—Metal Polishers' Local No. 7, requesting the assistance of organized labor against the J. W. York & Son Instrument Makers; request granted. Referred to New Business-From the Firemen, requesting the indorsement of the Council on their wage scale and agreement with the United Railroads. From Electrical Workers No. 151, appointing committee to present a matter to Council on behalf of their organization. Referred to Executive Committee-Wage scale and agreement of Mailers' Union, Local No. 18. Wage scale and agreement of Blacksmiths' Union, No. 168. Wage scale and agreement of Street Construction Workers,' No. 12,226. Milk Drivers' Union, requesting the Council to levy a boycott on A. Rosa, Marin County Milk Producers' Association, 20 Oak Grove avenue.

REPORTS OF UNIONS-Musicians-Are having some difficulty in organizing Music Dance Halls. Waiters -Donated \$100 to Laundry Workers' and \$25 a week thereafter until strike is settled. Butchers-Business good; initiating many new members and donated \$50 to the Laundry Workers. Milk Wagon Drivers-Donated \$200 to the Laundry Workers, to be made in four payments; desire to withdraw declaration of intention to levy boycott on the San Francisco Dairy, having adjusted their differences. Tanners-Donated \$25 to the Laundry Workers; 15 per cent of their members still on strike. Molders-Fifty per cent of men have been conceded the 8-hour day; donated \$50 to the Laundry Workers. Machinists-Report that many employers have conceded the 8-hour day and that they will hold a mass meeting next Wednesday evening, May 8th, at Walton's Pavilion; sub ject the 8-hour day. Barber Shop Porters-Trade fair; request union men to look for working card. Laundry Workers-Members are still on strike for enforcing the 8-hour day; report also that there are 900 members of the Oakland local on strike for enforcing the 8-hour day. Union desires to thank all unions for their financial assistance. Blacksmiths No. 168-Members still on strike to enforce the 8-hour day; union will parade on Labor Day. Cooks No. 44-Trade dull; have levied an assessment of ten cents per member for Laundry Workers. Electrical Workers No. 151-Members employed in iron trades still out to enforce the 8-hour day. Pie Bakers-Have adjusted their differences with the employers. Bottle Caners-Reported that they are unable to adjust difference with male members. Stationary Firemen-Trade good; report that the United Railroads have failed to comply with arbitration decision.

Executive Committee—Recommend: 1—That the resolution from the Eureka Federated Trades Council, in reference to upholding the principles of the North Pacific Steamship Company in their action against the Redwood Lumber Association of Humboldt County be indorsed; concurred in. 2—That the wage scale and agreement of the Waiters' Union No. 30, be indorsed subject to the indorsement of the Joint Local Executive Board; concurred in. 3-That the wage scale and agreement of the Waitresses' Union be indorsed, subject to the indorsement of their national organization; concurred in. 4-That the sub-committee of the Executive Committee, consisting of Brothers Schilling and Fox, advise with the Jewelry Workers and Metal Polishers on the subject of jurisdiction; the sub-committee recommends that the Organizing Committee be requested to assist the Silver Workers of those crafts to form a local union; concurred in. Brothers Reardon and Hayes of the Steam Fitters' Union appeared before Committee seeking advice on the situation at Pinole; Secretary was instructed to advise with the Iron Trades Council. 6—The sub-committee of the Executive Committee reported the situation of the Telephone Operators' Union in detail. Moved and seconded that the Council request the affiliated unions to assist the Telephone Operators both morally and financially, and that the Executive Committee retire and report back this evening as to the placing of boycott, etc. Carried. The Executive Committee reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Labor Council pledge its affiliated unions to the unlimited support of the Telephone Operators' Union in their struggle against the Telephone Company for better conditions, and that all unions be requested to immediately give such financial support to the Operators' Union as in their judgment they see fit. That the matter of the boycott be laid over until Saturday night, May 4th, at 7:30 o'clock, when a special meeting will be held of the Executive Committee, and that Local No. 151 and Telephone Operators' Union be notified to have their committee present. The Committee also recommends that a special meeting of the Council be held on Sunday afternoon, May 5th, in Labor Temple to receive report of Executive Committee, providing the Committee deems it necessary; if meeting is not necessary in the judgment of the Committee, announcement to be made in daily papers to that effect.

Moved and carried that the report be adopted; carried.

New Business—Resolved—That the San Francisco Labor Council, in regular meeting assembled on this 3rd day of May, 1907, do hereby pledge our moral and financial support to the Telephone Operators now on strike, and advise all affiliated unions to do likewise and that the Council donate \$100, thereby taking the initiative; carried. Moved and seconded that \$400 be placed in the hands of the Executive Committee to assist the Telephone Operators; carried. Moved and seconded that the Secretary be instructed to notify the officers of unions where their members have relatives working as Telephone Operators and request them to act accordingly; carried.

RECEIPTS—Stereotypers and Electrotypers, \$4; Waitresses, \$6; Retail Del. Drivers, \$4; Boilermakers' No. 205, \$12; Ship Joiners, \$4; Safe Deposit Company, deposit on keys, \$2; Butchers, \$8; Boot and Shoe Workers, \$8; Cooks' Helpers, \$8; Machine Coopers, \$4 Tanners, \$4; Gardeners, \$4; Cemetery Employes, \$4; Typographical, \$18; total, \$90.

EXPENSES—Secretary \$30; carfare, \$1.30; stenographer, \$20; Labor Clarion, subscription, \$25; Hall Association, rent, \$57.50; J. J. Kenny, \$15; P. O'Brien, \$10; postage, \$3; Chronicle sub., 75 cents; Total, \$171.05.

Adjourned at 12:45 p. m.

Wм. P. McCabe, Secretary.

The following appeared in the New York Times of April 25th: "Henry White, former Secretary of the United Garment Workers of America, who was ordered by Supreme Court Justice O'Gorman to make an accounting of his profits received from the printing of the union's labels to be placed in clothing, was declared to be insane by a physician yesterday at a hearing before the referee appointed to take the accounting. Justice O'Gorman decided that White had been guilty of a fraud on the union and directed that he produce before Thomas L. Feitner, the referee, all of the books of the New York Bond and Printing Company and also all his own books and papers bearing on his relations with the concern." The National officers of the Garment Workers, it is said, are of the opinion that White is shamming insanity.

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# MUSICIANS' MUTUAL PROTECTIVE UNION.

Headquarters and Secretaries' office, 68 Haight street.

The regular weekly meeting of the Board of Directors was held on May 7, President Chas. H. Cassasa in the chair. Messrs. W. K. Morse, C. Seiger and H. A. Schulte were admitted to membership by initiation, and Messrs. H. C. Holland of Local No. 8, Milwaukee, R. H. Merritt of Local No. o, Boston, O. D. Joiner of Local No. 30, St. Paul, Minn., and A. Roussey of Local No. 189, Stockton, were admitted on transfer. Applications were received from Mrs. E. Heinemann, E. J. Blanchard, F. W. Thompson, J. E. Lehman and H. C. Schaffer, and were laid over one week. Mr. J. M. Rosencrantz was reinstated to membership, and subsequently his resignation was tendered and accepted. Mr. W. E. Hedenberg of Local No. 20, Denver, resigned through withdrawal of transfer card.

The membership on transfer of Mr. G. Ruggiero of Local No. 99, Portland, Ore., has been annulled for failure to comply with the requirements of the Federation by-laws.

Unless circumstances intervene to prevent, Messrs. Frank Borgel and John A. Keogh will leave this city next week to attend the Twelfth Annual Convention of the A. F. of M., to convene Monday, May 20, at Cleveland, Ohio. Local No. 47 of Los Angeles has also decided to be represented in the convention, and has selected as most worthy of the honor, Secretary C. L. Bagley, who will leave over the Santa Fe on May 16. There is a probability that the coming convention will be the largest in point of numbers ever held by the Federation, on account of the location decided upon and the constant growth of the organization.

The present industrial conditions of San Francisco have had a detrimental effect on establishments requiring or making use of the services of musicians, and has resulted in the termination—temporary, it is confidently expected—of many local engagements. Other establishments have arranged for less than the usual amount of playing, and a great many casual engagements have naturally been cancelled entirely, or postponed to a future date. In the aggregate, the volume of business ordinarily transacted by members has greatly decreased and the prospects of an immediate return to former conditions are not encouraging.

#### "WE DON'T PATRONIZE LIST"

The concerns named below are on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the San Francisco Labor Council. Members of labor unions and sympathizers are requested to cut this list out and post it at home, where it can be conveniently referred to. Officers of unions are requested to have the list posted weekly on bulletin boards at headquarters.

Golden Gate Cloak and Suit House and Pacific Cloak and Suit House, Market street, between Taylor and Jones.

Triest & Co., jobbers of hats.

Bekin Van and Storage Company.

National Biscuit Company of Chicago Products.

Kullman, Salz & Co., tanners, Benicia, Cal. A. B. Patrick, tanners, San Francisco.

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company. Butterick patterns and publications.

Crescent Feather Company, Nineteenth and Harrison streets.

M. Hart, furnishing goods, 1548 Fillmore street. Carson Glove Company, San Rafael, Cal. Brockton Shoe Company, 1025 Fillmore street.

Capitol Restaurant, 726 Turk street.

McMahon, Keyer & Steigler Bros., 1711 O'Farrell and Van Ness avenue and Ellis street, tailors.

A. T. Becraft, Carriage Manufacturer, Twenty-third and Bartlett streets.

Clark's Bakery, 439 Van Ness avenue. Pacific Oil and Lead Works, 155 Townsend street.

pants can find them at Summerfield & Haines, 1080-The man who wants a good pair of union-made 1091 Market Street.



# Just Twelve-Fifty

There's one model in the picture and there are twentytwo others. You select from a stock of 11,000 Suits, Overcoats and Cravenettes, any of which are yours at \$12.50. Trousers—Peg-top or eight other styles. Coats—single or double breasted, all the latest Coats, broad shoulders, with or without vents and the styles that they are wearing in New York City to-day. You select from the finest of all-wool blue serges, all-wool black clays, all-wool black thibets, allwool fancy worsteds, and various other materials of all-wool Suitings. Kragens fits a man as well as the finest merchant tailor and yet the price is but \$12.50. Other stores would make a big howl at selling such bargains at \$20.00, but Kragens asks just \$12.50. Kragens can afford a smaller profit than other stores because of the volume of its business. You pay Kragens but \$1.00 Weekly and any of these Suits, Overcoats or Cravenettes are yours

At the very lowest price and on credit you may buy Men's and Boys' Hats, Men's and Boys' Furnishings, Juvenile Clothing, Men's and Boys' Shoes, Ladies' Cloaks, Suits and Millinery, Ladies' Shoes, Fine and Medium Grade Jewelry, the Choicest Diamonds, Sewing Machines, Draperies, Blankets, Comforts, Straw Matting and a hundred and one other articles which are in daily use by you and your family.

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#### TYPOGRAPHICAL TOPICS.

John J. Curry, who went to the Union Printers' Home at Colorado Springs because of poor health, has returned to the city on a brief furlough. He will remain in the city for two or three months and if the climate is not too severe with him, may make his stay here permanent.

J. D. Gavit, an old time and well known printer of Colorado, whose home is now in Pueblo, is visiting the city with his family.

W. L. Fulton, who has been on the sick list for some months past, is somewhat improved in health, but is still confined to the house.

The annual election of San Francisco Typographical Union, No. 21, will take place on Wednesday next, the 15th. A spirited contest is on for the honor of representing the union at the coming International Convention to be held at Hot Springs, Ark. For the office of alternate delegate to that convention the contest has also taken on some color, but it still lacks a shade or two of being all that the union is capable of putting forth. Following is a complete list of the nominees for the various positions: President, George A. Tracy; First Vice-President, George S. Hollis; Second Vice-President, W. J. Higgins; Secretary-Treasurer, Will J. French; Member Executive Committee, Leo Michelson; Reading Clerk, Mrs. C. E. Hawkes; Trustee, Leo Michelson; Sergeant-at-Arms, D. G. Lewis; Auditing Committee (three)-George S. Hollis, J. W. Mullin; Delegates to the International Typographical Union Convention (three)-E. B. Anderson, Mrs. C. E. Hawkes, S. T. Sawyer, J. M. Scott, George A. Tracy; Alternates for International Typographical Union Delegates (three)—Chas. A. Black, J. M. Brown, D. S. White, F. M. White; Delegates to Allied Printing Trades Council (two)-W. H. Ellis, Will J. French R. B. O'Reilly; Delegates to Labor Council (nine)-H. M. Alexander, Will J. French, Mrs. C. E. Hawkes, Philip Johnson, W. T. McClain, Leo Michel. son, C. H. Parker, J. V. Rooney, J. M. Scott, George A. Tracy; Delegates to Japanese and Korean Exclusion League (three)-H. M. Alexander, Frank E. Jenks, C. H. Parker. For the enlightenment of those members who are not in the habit of keeping their cards paid strictly up to date, it may be well to say that they should settle with either the chairmen of chapels or the Secretary-Treasurer at once or they will not be entitled to vote at the election. The election will be held in chapels where there are ten or more members: where there are less than that number ballots may be cast at the union's headquarters, 312 Fourteenth street, where polls will be kept open from 12 M. to 7 p. m. Other chapels are required to keep polls open for two hours, the particular time to be specified by the chapel concerned. It is expected that a very good vote will be got out, notwithstanding the present lack of facilities for getting around the city.

The father of Leo Michelson, one of the best known and popular members of No. 21, died in Indianapolis last Monday, the interment taking place Wednesday. Mr. Michelson had been an invalid for some time, and his demise was not unexpected. He was an old resident of Indianapolis and stood high in the regard of his fellow citizens.

Chas, A. Black is the proud papa of a bouncing baby boy. He (Charlie) is all swelled up over the event and says the boy is the finest specimen on the coast, and that he looks just like the old man. C. F. Wolters ("Slim") disputes Black's claims to the right to wear all the peacock feathers as a disciple of the anti-race suicide forces. He, too, is the father of a "bouncer" whose advent to this burg of bricks and dust occurred last week. "Slim," as he is known among his intimates, is not given to volubility of speech, consequently he has had little to say about the fine points of Wolters, Jr., but it is known that his tailor had to revise the chest measurements of a summer suit ordered a couple of days before Charlie, Jr. appeared.

Chas. A. Feistcorn has drawn a traveling card from No. 21 and will hereafter reside in the southern part of the State.

E. L. Gamble is off for another stay in Seattle. Thos. D. McKenna has quit the *Call* and will be located in Oakland for some time to come.

W. P. Woodard will spend a three-weeks' vacation in Santa Rosa.

R. H. Richville is headed toward the land of the aurora.

George W. Sweet has drawn his card and gone north. He will spend the summer months in Nome, Alaska.

Among those members who have drawn cards during the past week are John E. Young, S. J. Pedrusi, M. E. Lewis, Allen B. Chandlee, J. W. Myers, W. N. Skinner, Wm. S. Hayward, J. M. James, Martin Sweeney, E. J. Day, J. H. Murray, H. O. Beasley, M. S. Rockwell and George E. Moore.

E. V. Staley has accepted a position with Kitchener in Oakland.

H. T. Wilson of the *Bulletin*, has gone north for a short stay.

#### BONAPARTE'S RULING ON IMMIGRATION

In his recent ruling on the immigration question, Attorney-General Bonaparte decided that States and individuals, but not societies or associations, can import foreign labor.

This decision reverses his former ruling, which called forth such caustic criticism in some parts of the Southern States where arrangements had been made to import laborers from other lands for settlement in that section of the United States. After the former decision had been rendered, representatives from the interested territory went to Washington and protested against the policy proposed by the Attorney-General, insisting that it would be detrimental to the proper development of the industries in the South.

In rendering his ruling Mr. Bonaparte quotes several sections of law regarding assisted immigrations, among which are the following:

"These provisions change the law in two particulars; in the first place aliens solicited or induced to migrate by reasons of offers, or promises, even when there is no contract of employment, will be excluded after this act takes effect. At present, although their importation is unlawful and subjects the parties responsible for it to puunishment, aliens themselves are allowed to enter.

"Secondly, a person whose passage money is paid by another must be prepared to show, not merely that he does not come within any of the categories of immigrants to be excluded, but also that his passage was not paid by a corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government; and this provision against such payment by any of the agencies mentioned is effective whether payment be made directly or indirectly.

"While, therefore, payment of the passage money of such immigrants by the State with its public funds is not prohibited, its payment with funds contributed by any society or association renders the immigrant liable to exclusion, although payment may be made through the agency of the State or its officers, and although the immigrant would be otherwise entitled to admission. The same prohibition, however, does not extend to the payment of passage money by individuals, whether directly or through the agency of the State; provided, that their action is and is satisfactorily shown to be in the good faith of the individual, and is not attended by such combination or concert of action as would make it substantially an act of an association or society."

Beginning June 1st, the initiation fee of Waiters' Union, No. 30, will be \$5. Some time ago the union reduced the fee to a nominal figure in order that all non-affiliated waiters might have opportunity, at a minimum of expense, to join the union. This policy has proved to be quite successful, the increase in the membership roll having surpassed all previous records during the last few months.

The book "Friday The Thirteenth" is published by an unfair concern.



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and has been placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the San Francisco Labor Council.

# DO NOT PATRONIZE

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# On Your Printing

If a firm cannot place the Label of the Allied Printing Trades Council on your printing it is not a Union concern.

#### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAW AND THE COURTS.

One of the best and most creditable acts of the first session of the last Congress, says the American Federationist, was that in regard to the liability of common carriers for accidents to their employes. As two federal judges almost simultaneously declared the act unconstitutional, and three other judges of coordinate jurisdiction, in as many cases, have sustained it, the question involved may profitably be considered here from the standpoint of common sense and public feeling.

Let us first recall the principles of the act and the chief changes it makes in the law concerning employers' liability.

Briefly, the act abrogated the old, antiquated, and flagrantly unjust "fellow-servant" doctrine, and modified the doctrine of contributory negligence, which was scarcely less unjust and unreasonable. It provided that every common carrier be liable for all damages that might result from the negligence of its officers, agents, or employes. It also provided that the contributory negligence of an injured (or dead) employe should not be a bar to the recovery of damages where his negligence was slight and that of the employer (or his agent or other employe) was gross in comparison; that the damages in any such case should be diminished by the jury in proportion to the negligence attributable to the victim of the accident.

For many years organized labor has endeavored to procure legislation of this character from the several states. Owing to the opposition of selfish employers and their sophistical attorneys, progress toward justice to industrial victims has been painfully slow. Little has been done to stop the industrial slaughter, little to provide, against accidents and disability. The United States is behind every European country with regard to the protection of life, limb, and health of workingmen and workingwomen.

Congress, which is not, as we know, over-generous to labor, was induced to pass the employers' liability law. Few ventured to criticise it, while many legal and lay journals gave it their warm approval.

Why did two federal courts declare it unconstitutional? Two major reasons were assigned. One does not concern us, for it is purely technical and verbal. The other is fundamental.

The act, said the two courts, is not in any true sense a regulation of interstate commerce. It creates a new liability, or rather two new liabilities; it defines the relations between carriers and their employers in certain cases. What have these things to do with the transportation of property and the transit of persons between the states? It is true that commerce may be indirectly regulated by regulating the instrumentalities, but the liability act does not even affect the instrumentalities of commerce.

This reasoning was severely attacked in the press, though some learned lawyers indorsed it and described the act as a disingenuous-not to say tricky attempt on the part of Congress by stretching and misconstruing the commerce clause of the constitution, to regulate something with which it had no

Since then, as we noted above, the federal circuit courts have upheld the act. The most notable of the favorable decisions is that rendered in March by Judge Emory Speer at Macon, Ga. Judge Speer is a staunch defender of such state rights as seem to him valuable and practical. In connection with the employers' liability act he was unable to see wherein any right of the states was infringed. Nor was he able to discover much in the objection that to regulate the liabilities of the railroads as employers was to go outside of the sphere of the interstate commerce clause in the federal constitution.

The power to regulate interstate commerce on land, Judge Speer holds, is co-extensive with the power to regulate foreign commerce, commerce on the seas and the internal waterways. Legislation governing the liabilities of shipowners and their relations with the seamen has been enacted again and again, and its validity is not even called into question.

Further on, in giving his opinion on the law, the judge continues:

"If then, Congress has the established right to control the relative duties of the shipowners and the seamen, both of whom are instrumentalities of commerce, both absolutely essential to its proper and effective conduct, or any conduct, upon what sound reasoning can its control of the rights and liabilities of other men engaged in the transportation by land of the same commerce be denied? The employes of a railroad company are essential instruments to the existence under modern conditions of interstate traffic on land. The locomotive engineers, firemen, the train hands, the track hands, the conductors, and all the rest are as essential to this traffic as are the masters, pilots, engineers, and sailors to navigation. The power to regulate, as we have heretofore seen, is unlimited in its application to such traffic. How narrow, then, is the contention that this regulation may be extended to the inanimate machinery and commodities engaged and not to the men without whose services not a wheel would revolve and not an ounce of freight would be transported."

Moreover, Congress has legislated with regard to safety appliances for the protection of passengers and employes, the transportation of lottery tickets, the issuance of passes, the keeping of records of accidents, and so on, and all these things have been done under the brief and general "commerce clause."

Is it reasonable to draw the line at the abrogation of the fellow-servant doctrine and the contributory negligence rule, and say that the power to regulate commerce on land is insufficient to effect these desirable and just reforms?

Judge Speer adds these interesting words, which we quote on account of their particular pertinence to our recent observations on the bias of federal courts against "labor legislation," "their straining at gnats" (where labor is concerned) after "swallowing camels" to accommodate corporations and "vested interests:"

"While I am aware that no determination of this great question will be generally satisfactory save that of the Supreme Court, I have not felt at liberty to await the decision of that great tribunal, and thus avoid the responsibility of making my own determination of the pending case. I am clear as to the constitutionality of this measure, but if Iwere in doubt, I would uphold the law." It is a part of that splendid practical philosophy of government which is intended for the betterment of mankind. The statesman who dealt with this question did not deal with abstractions. They were not enchanted with those flowers and blossoms which are sometimes woven into garlands to crown that divinity—the sovereign state. Like Lord Bacon in the 'Novum Organum' and other works written to ameliorate the hardships of life, they were after 'fruit.' "

These are refreshing and welcome sentiments. They should be commended to other federal judges who have occasions to pass on labor laws that corporations attack on imaginary constitutional grounds.

Surely, some progress has been made, and finally that splendid practical philosophy, which is intended for the betterment of mankind, will be accepted not only as the law of the land, but also the practical every-day action of life.

In the meantime, we find federal courts of equal jurisdiction holding variously and antagonistically upon fundamental rights and principles underlying the laws passed by the Congress of the United States and signed by the President. Is there not, therefore, reason for the demand which labor makes for the enactment of a law by Congress that the courts of its creation, those inferior to the Supreme Court of the United States, shall not be permitted to pass upon the constitutionality of any law; but that this power shall be reserved solely and alone to the highest judicial tribunal of our country, the co-ordinate branch of our federal government, the United States Supreme Court.

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NEW YORK.

American Inventor, (M.)\*
American Machinist, (W.)
American Printer, (M.)
American Printer, (M.)
Automobile Topics, (W.)
Benziger's Magazine, (M.)
Burr-McIntosh, (M.)
Century, The, (M.)
Christian Advocate, (W.)
Country Life In America, (M.)
Critic and Literary World, (M.)
Deligner, (M.)
Engineering and Mining Journal, (W.)
Forum, (Q.)
Garden Magazine, (M.)
Gentlewoman, (M.)
Homiletic Review, (M.)
Homiletic Review, (M.)
McClure's, (M.)
McClure's, (M.)
McClure's, (M.)
McClure's, (M.)
My Business Friend, (M.)
Navy Lengue Journal, (M.)
Navy Lengue Journal, (M.)
Navy Lengue Journal, (M.)
New Idea, (M.)
Power Boat News, (W.)
Rudder, The, (M.)
St. Nicholas, (M.)
Town and Country, (W.)
Town Topics, (M.)
Black Cat, (M.)
Black Cat, (M.)
Blookon, Mass.
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Springfield, Mass.
Good Housekeeping, (M.)
New England Homestead, (W.)
American Agriculturist, (W.)
Farm and Home, (S. M.)
Springfield, Ohio.
Woman's Home Companion, (M.)
Farm and Fireside, (S. M.)

\*Abbreviations used—M. monthly; W, weekly; Q, quarterly; S M. semi-monthly.

# WOMEN IN THE SWEATED TRADES OF PHILADELPHIA.

In certain industries three characteristics seem often to go hand-in-hand,—inadequate organization, the presence of large numbers of women, and the sweating system. In Philadelphia twenty known—and probably many unknown—industries compete in this demoralizing race toward industrial inefficiency; and among them, as in other cities, the garment trades hold an unenviable first place.

In the garment trades, which alone are subject to the sub-contracting system, the women take up their work at the final stage of the disorganizing process. As might be expected, it is the women of the foreign element who have, in their ignorance, become victims of this merciless travesty of industry. In Philadelphia, the Italians have become the chosen nation; and the small, crowded homes of the Italian district in the southeastern part of the city are those which have been most ruthlessly invaded by this particular variety of work.

There are no figures to show even approximately how many women are engaged in finishing garments at home for ready made wear. The most recent official report of tenement and dwelling house work is now five years old; the number given then by the Department of Factory Inspection was 2,003. There is no reason to suppose that these figures, however, represent the actual conditions of the year 1902, for a large proportion of home workers have never secured permits, and therefore have never been recorded by the Department. But even were 2,003 the whole story for 1902, the five years which have since intervened have seen an increase in the trade and an influx of Italian immigrants which would make old figures look a mere shade by comparison.

In a single alley of twenty-one houses, seventeen are occupied by women who make a mockery of living at garment—generally trouser—finishing. The most prosperous worker living in a two-room apartment with her three children and her husband, works on a very high grade of material; and she earns, with the partial help of her little girl, 80 to 90 cents in an eleven-hour day, 8 cents apiece being the rate paid on these silk lined, silk worked trousers. Behind her in the scale, drags the army of women doing an equal amount of work on cheaper materials for a wage of six and one-half cents a pair. But a tragic group brings up the rear of this exploited army. In a barren room of a twelve-family tenement house, the writer found a fully-dressed man asleep on a mattress among a pile of finished trousers, ready for their return journey through the sweatshop, to the ready-made counters of any and every retail store; by the narrow window in the adjoining room, with two small children gazing questionably at the visitor from her protecting skirts, sat the wife and mother-a competing force in one of the wealthiest industries in the countrybusily finishing trousers at 24 cents a dozen pairs. Forty-eight cents represented to her the earnings of a ten-hour day.

The writer was fervently hoping that the lowest step in the stairway to industrial iniquity had been reached, when she came upon a woman and a little girl of twelve years in a tiny room on an alley, busily attacking a huge pile of cheap trousers. The work proved to be similar to all the rest-namely, finishing the pockets, sewing in the band, making two buttonholes, felling the hems, and sewing on buttons. The compensation which this worker received was 12 cents a dozen pairs; a twelve-hour day for two pairs of hands could scarcely bring 50 cents. This was fortunately the only example discovered in which such a stage of industrial robbery had been reached. But just as this case had come to light accidentally, so it was all too probable that a systematic investigation would reveal many another

Similar conditions exist in other branches of garment-making—coats, overcoats, and children's clothes, as well as (to a lesser degree) women's garments. All these are subject to the action of

the sweating system at its height, with sub-contracting as the main prop of the whole infamous structure. In other trades, the transaction between manufacturer and home worker is very largely a direct one. Many and surprising are the forms in which industry has crept into and usurped the crowded family rooms in our vaunted "City of Homes."

The purchaser of a dainty undervest would probably be unutterably shocked were she to stumble—as did the writer—over a huge, tightly filled sack of these garments in the dark passage-way of a small house in the Kensington mill district. The woman of the house, apologizing for the mishap, explained that she had been running the silk ribbons through the vests, and was now waiting for the wagon from the factory to call for the bag, and bring a new lot—to such an extent has it become a system! Twenty dozen vests—the work of two days—were in the sack; her labor on the entire sackful was rewarded by \$1.00, under the prevailing rate of 5 cents for a dozen undervests.

In the same neighborhood, supported by the same textile industries—the boast of Philadelphia—are women who spend their days in making and knotting the fringe of shawls and bedspreads. Eight yards of fringing is required for each article, and the worker receives 5.4 cents for its completion; 65 cents represents the earnings of a twelve-hour day at this occupation, and out of this munificent sum the worker supplies the frequently breaking needles.

The vigor and freshness of a baseball game seems a far cry from the close intensity of sweated labor, but the compact little missive upon which the game depends could give anything but a merry tale of the history which preceded its triumphant career on the diamond. It, and many like it, were covered, stitched and waxed by women in their homes who received eight cents a dozen for the exacting work. Out of the 32 cents which a ten-hour day provides, the worker supplies tacks, tweezers, and wax for the base-balls. The firm munificently supplies the thread and needles

It would make long and perhaps tedious reading to enumerate the details of the twenty varieties of work which have been found in the homes of this city. A few others should be mentioned, however. Among them, box-making and necktie-finishing are capable of returning the most satisfactory results. Paper boxes are completely made in the homes—with the exception of cutting the cardboard strips—for prices ranging from 15 to 85 cents a gross. At these rates, the income for a twelve-hour day ranges from 75 cents to \$1.32. In necktie finishing, a skilled worker can make as much as \$1.00 in ten hours; but the daily wage drops considerably below this for the average woman.

The stripping and sewing of rags for carpet is an ill-paid and unwholesome form of home work that brings one woman 15 cents for ten hours' work. The rate is 2 cents a pound (240 yards) of rags. Thirty-five cents a yard is the retail selling price for the finished product; and as one and one-half pounds of rags make one yard of carpet, it follows that one and one-half cents worth of this woman's labor brings in 35 cents to the retailer!

There is a three-fold significance to this distortion of industry, depending upon the point of view from which its ugliness is viewed; these three view points are those of the manufacturer, the buying public, and the worker herself. For the manufacturer who places out the work, the repellent features of sweating are successfully hidden. The system represents solely profit to him. He has seized the opportunity to save the rent, light and general service that would be involved if he provided proper work rooms; to escape the limitations placed upon hours of labor by legislation on one hand and organization on the other, and successfully to keep down wages by playing off, one against the other, ignorant, disorganized and helpless workers who have not even the bond of acquaintanceship in this, their common employment. There are manufacturers who give out material in certain trades, who maintain that they do it against their will at the

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demand of women who insist upon working at home. In isolated cases this may be true; but it is notable that in the most exploited of trades, garment-making, no one has—to the writer's knowledge—ever made such a statement.

To the community that buys the product of this unregulated labor, the menace is unmitigated by any sort of advantage except, in some cases, a lessening of the money cost of the article. Infinitely greater than this slight decrease, is the cost which a disease or dirt laden article may be exacting from an innocent purchaser. The instance has been frequently quoted of the tubercular patient who was found in a New York tenement, attempting to meet the cost of the last ravages of her disease by pasting the edges of wedding-cake boxes for a prominent confectioner—moistening the paper with her tongue.

A parallel case occurred only a few months ago in Philadelphia. An investigator for the Industrial Exhibit contracted a severe case of diphtheria from a room in which a woman was finishing children's flannel dresses by the bedside of a child who was ill with a malignant form of the disease. At the Exhibit, where one of these dresses was shown, the visitor usually inquired, after the story was learned, "Has this dress been disinfected?" A very natural inquiry! But to how many homes did those other little dresses carry the disease from which the investigator became so desperately ill, and the child eventually died?

There is another element of cost to the purchaser who apparently saves a cent or two on sweated garments. It is a price which some blunted sensibilities may not feel. But just as the majority of men and women would not buy stolen goods even at a reduced cost, so the usual purchaser would not knowingly buy articles which represent stolen health, stolen time and confiscated home life of helpless women. Such articles are not cheap. John Spargo says it vividly:

"..... A recognition .... of all the monstrous wrong and tragedy hidden in that word 'cheap' would do much to diminish the evil. We need in our modern life something of that spirit which prompted David to pour out upon the ground the precious cooling draught his brave followers, at the risk of their lives, brought him from the well by Bethlehem's gate. The water had been obtained at too great a cost, the risking of human lives, and David could not drink it. We need that spirit to be applied to our social relations. Those things which are cheap only by reason of the sacrifice, or the risk of sacrifice, of human life and happiness, are too costly for human use."

To the worker herself, the sweating system hides its real features behind a mask of necessity or convenience which only the more enlightened have the intelligence to remove. A crusade which had as its object the total eradication of this industrial disease, would meet with indignant opposition or despairing appeals from three-quarters of the victims themselves. One phase only appears to them. Angelina's husband is making insufficient wages at his place of work to support the family, and here is a readily-seized means of adding the necessary extra dollar to the weekly income. Or a woman has been left a widow without support, and with small children whom it seems impossible to leave during the day, so that work at home is indispensable.

An outcry would also probably arise from the woman who does home work for "pin money." But she is an unmitigated evil in industry who embodies all the wrongs inherent in the system without even the apology of necessity, and may be dismissed without argument. Neither do such women occur in great enough numbers to affect the situation.

The woman who attempts to eke out her husband's wage, does it in blind, if devoted, ignorance of the fact that her very act defeats the ends for which she strives. The sweated trades are the last to feel the tendency toward a rise in wages; and in certain branches, the tendency seems to be in quite a contrary direction. A woman on Fairhill street, who two years ago received 8 cents for finishing a

coat, now receives six and one-half for the same work. There is no less demand for coats, and they are not sold more cheaply. The system here has done its work well. Her husband's wages in the shop has, logically, been kept or forced down through the throwing on the market of just such competition as hers, and there is need for her to take in more coats, be the return what it may, and work more rapidly on them, in order to keep pace with the increasing family expenses, and the shrinking income. But how is this ignorant Italian, who knows only that she receives a two-dollar bill at the end of the week wherewith to buy small Tony his much-needed shoes— to ferrit out this grim and disheartening economic fact?

The widow with little children, although in the nature of things an exceptional case, presents at first sight an even more formidable argument; but it has no more real value than the former. The same helpless factor has been for years as the stock argument of the opponents of child-labor reform. In the employment of young children, as in the sweating system, the easiest and most pernicious way out of a difficulty has been grasped. The farce of supporting a family on his insignificant wage, at the risk of becoming later an illiterate and brokendown public charge, is being recognized as no longer the province of an immature, growing child. The community will perhaps have to bear a hopeless burden later; let it rather assume a hopeful one now. In the same way, if a woman cannot leave her children in order to engage in wholesome and reasonably remunerative work, then agencies, public or private, must meet these exceptional cases. Such agencies do exist now in large numbers, and would increase proportionately as the need for them. The woman who endangers the health of a community by sewing children's dresses at the bedside of her diphtheritic patient was attempting to keep herself and her sick child alive on her daily wage of 35 cents, representing 13 hours of work. Before her child was taken ill, she was besought by a neighboring settlement to leave the child at the day nursery, and take up factory work; but home work seemed readier at hand, and she refused. After the child's death, she did enter a textile mill, and is now earning \$7.00 a week, for five and one-half days' work.

As a matter of fact, anyone acquainted with the homes of these misguided workers knows that the mother's "care of the children" is cruel irony. The children are of necessity allowed to run on the street, play with dangerous objects, eat hastily prepared apologies for meals, while the mother, whose hands are already normally full with the duties of such a household, bends every energy in keeping up the unequal struggle—with the help of any child that is old enough to wield a needle.

No real argument seems to be of avail in favor of the continuance of sweated work for women. The invasion of already crowded homes, low wages, unlimited hours, and child-labor spells out the cost to the worker. After years of agitation, a certain amount of public sentiment is awakening, and manufacturers are beginning to respond. A certain manufacturer and retailer of men's and boys' clothing in Philadelphia advertises in the newspapers, (untruthfully, alas!) "No sweatshop-made clothing!" Some few clothing manufacturers are slowly providing facilities for normal factory work, and are thus showing themselves sensitive to public pressure. The buyer of underwear at Philadelphia's most prominent retail store said to the writer only recently: "The time has passed when we will stand for handsomely constructed establishments within which are sold goods made in insanitary, wretched hovels. People won't stand for it-and every article made in my department is bought with some reference to the conditions under which it is made."

Could this buyer only make positive his assurance of good conditions; could his zeal but transmit itself to the buyer of every other department, might we not—in spite of a depressing present—have certain hope for the future?—Florence L. Sanville.

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#### THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.

(Continued from Page 1.)

was had at the Saturday midnight meeting of the Street Carmen's Union when from 1500 to 1600 men voted to strike. The laws of the Street Carmen's Union do not designate the manner of taking a strike vote, consequently this is determined by the members in the meeting at which such a question is an issue. At Saturday night's meeting a vote was taken to determine whether the strike vote should be taken by secret ballot or by a standing vote. About 120 of the 1500 or 1600 men present favored a secret ballot, and when the strike vote was taken there were about 25 men who voted against a strike to enforce the demand for \$3 and eight hours. The statements regarding dissension, intimidation, etc., are absolutely without foundation. Whatever difference of opinion may have existed among the men as to the wage schedule vanished when the strike vote was taken Sunday morning. The men stand as one man in their determination to secure better conditions, and Calhoun's hope that desertions from the union will be numerous has no basis in fact.

Calhoun's disposition throughout this controversy may be fairly judged by the events of Tuesday, when his Hessians, acting under his orders, shot seventeen men and boys, making no attempt whatever to discriminate between those who assaulted them and inoffensive citizens. The details of this bloody incident are known to all and need not be repeated here.

Patrick Calhoun has determined to destroy the Street Carmen's Union and reduce the wages of the men who run the cars 25 to 30 per cent. He has made a declaration to this effect, and it is apparent that he will hesitate at nothing in his efforts to accomplish his purposes.

The strike of the Telephone Operators has not changed in any material respect. Henry T. Scott, the President of the local telephone company, is a second edition of Patrick Calhoun. He has declared that under no circumstances will his corporation deal with or recognize the Telephone Operators' Union. In the meantime the telephone service of the city is thoroughly crippled while the girls are gaining confidence every hour that victory will be theirs. They have already received over \$1000 in voluntary donations, and when formal appeal for financial assistance is presented to the unions of the city favorable response is certain to be immediate and generous, as few strikes have excited more sympathy among all classes than has that of the Telephone Operators.

Fully 60 per cent. of the local iron workers are now working under the eight-hour schellule, and at this writing the prospects of effecting a settlement that will establish the eight-hour day permanently in the iron industry are very favorable.

The Laundry Workers' strike is now in its sixth week, but it is quite probable that a settlement of this difficulty will be effected before another week has passed.

The Labor Council held a special meeting last Tuesday evening to consider the present industrial situation, and appointed a committee of eleven under instructions to endeavor to effect an amicable settlement of existing controversies as well as to prevent, if possible, further industrial disturbances. This committee has been meeting daily with representative citizens of the city who have agreed to co-operate with the Labor Council in its efforts to restore industrial peace, and at this time there is ample reason to believe that these men will succeed in adjusting several, if not all, of the serious labor controversies that are pending.

A press report states that at the recent session of the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Workmen of North America, in Syracuse, N. Y., Michael Donnelly of Chicago, President of the organization, resigned, owing to ill health. The following officers were elected: President, Edward W. Potter of Utica, N. Y.; Vice-Presidents—Joseph A. Masterson of New York City, John E. Carney of Louisville, Ky., August Moulteer of Buffalo, and Timothy McCreash of Pittsburg; Secretary-Treasurer, Homer D. Coll of Syracuse.

The firm of M. P. Henderson & Son of Stockton, said to be the largest carriage manufacturing concern in the interior of this State, has notified its employes that, commencing June 1st, the eight-hour day will be inaugurated in all departments of its manufactory.

About 4000 dock laborers struck at Bordeaux, France, on May 1.

#### JAPANESE MORALS.

Mr. A. E. Maegraith, head master of University College, North Adelaide, has just returned to Adelaide from a trip to Japan and the Far East. He has returned to Australia with pronounced anti-Japanese views. Discussing the morality of the Jap, Mr. Maegraith says:

In the business world the Jap's want of morality is universally condemned. It is said that if it suits his pocket he will repudiate a bargain without regard to the rights, legal or moral, of the other contracting party. His word in trading is most emphatically not his bond. To illustrate his untrustworthiness in money matters may be mentioned the fact that in all banks and financial institutions in the East you will find the positions of trust and monetary responsibility occupied by Chinese.

The discussion of commercial morality naturally leads us to the higher plane of spiritual or ethical morality. Here the Japanese as a people are sadly lacking. Their notions of morality and decency are extremely primitive. Apologists ascribe this fact to simplicity of mind, but it is assuredly indubitable evidence of inherent animalism. Take, for instance, that characteristic institution, the chaya, or teahouse, with its "sine qua non," the geisha girl. No

modest white woman would set foot inside one did she know their "raison d'etre." Or, take that notorious, colossal exhibition of iniquity in Tokio, the Yoshiwara

What and a

What sadder and more depressing spectacle can the world furnish than that of several thousands of richly bedecked women (and girls) publicly bartering away their virtue for a few cents of blood money, while the pinnacle of creation—noble man (Japanese)—collects at the side of each gilded cage the price of their dishonor? Again, at a leading Japanese theatre I saw one of the characters—presumably the funny man—indulge in gestures of an unspeakably indecent character. The effect upon the audience was to elicit a perfect torrent of laughter and much applause. Simplicity or sensuality, which? No; the question of Japanese morality will not bear argument, for there is only one side of it.

But the pre-eminent and most characteristic feature in the national type is the abnormal development of that part of the brain whence proceeds self-esteem. This is particularly indicated in the conformation of the skull in the males, in all stages from childhood to adult manhood. If there be anything in phrenology—and Professor Alfred Russell Wallace declares most emphatically that there is—conceit and assurance are congenital with the Japanese. At any rate, whether or not caused or fostered by adventitious success in arms against a nation already rent in twain by internal dissention, the fact remains that swelled head is unpleasantly in evidence in Japan today.

I was told that in years gone by a foreigner was treated with extreme deference, approaching almost to reverence. A few trips in the tramcars, which are largely patronized by the middle and the plebeian classes, will convince one that the old order of things has changed. Often I have seen a Jap sprawling over sufficient seating space for two or three persons, take no notice whatever of the entrance of a foreigner, although no other seating accommodation was available. To scores of men, including travelers, traders, old residents, maritime officers, and others, all possessing a more or less extensive acquaintance with the Land of the Rising Sun, I have put the query, "Honestly, now, do you like the ' and almost without exception the reply has been a decided (generally embellished) negative.

So, too, when the Jap is weighed in the scale against the Chinese, the latter invariably scores. Those who are really competent to pass judgment give the palm to the Chinese on the ground of superior mentality, more ballast, greater enterprise, higher skill and inventiveness, and infinitely greater trustworthiness. The common view is that when in the comparatively remote future China shakes off her cramping lethargy and gets to know herself, she will stand forth as a power beside which Japan will pale into littleness.

#### LABOR AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

The following address was delivered by President Gompers of the A. F. of L., at the banquet April 17, in connection with the International Peace Congress held in New York City, and in response to the toast, "Labor and International Peace:"

"It is quite in keeping with the great cause of labor which here I have the honor to represent, for me to have accepted the invitation to address this magnificent assemblage upon the subject now so conspicuously occupying the minds of the earnest, thinking, humane men of our time-the horrors of war, and the movement to substitute for them the more humane methods for the establishment and maintenance of peace among the nations of the world. For quite apart from the altruistic and humane sentiments which the workingmen share with others in the effort to abolish the arbitrament of international disputes by resort to war, the workmen recognize that, though others may fall, the brunt of war is borne by them, not only the battlefield itself, but in bearing the burdens which war thereafter entails.

"Of all the people who suffer from war, the toilers are most intensely interested. They are the great burden bearers of its resultant horrors and sufferings. It is, therefore, not difficult to discern why they have from their first gatherings and at almost every gathering thereafter committed themselves unalterably and vitally to the abolition of war, and, through a duly constituted international court of arbitration, the adjudication of all international contentions which can not be settled through the ordinary channels of conciliation and diplomacy.

"It is a source of satisfaction and pride to recall the fact that the American Federation of Labor, in its convention in 1887 at Baltimore, heartily welcomed that pioneer of international arbitration, Henry Creamer, the union stonecutter member of Parliament of England, and unanimously declared in favor of an arbitration treaty between that country and the United States, a course which Labor through our organized movement has since that time consistently and persistently pressed home upon the conscience of our people.

In a gathering of this character it is not necessary to dwell in detail, nor in figures, upon the almost fabulous sums of money entailed in the cost of wars, the cost of standing armies and navies, not even their cost when maintained upon what is ludicrously termed a 'peace footing.' These can be obtained by any one who cares to know. It is sufficient for us to know the immense increase within the past ten years in the cost of our own army, navy, and armaments. It suffices to know that it saps the very life blood of industry and the standards of life of the people of other countries. If the barracks, armies, and navy yards were transformed into school houses, colleges, universities, university extensions, manual training schools, schools of technology, libraries, museums of natural history; to air space, to breathing places, to improving the homes, the factories, the workshops, the sweatshops of the world, it would be found that the ravages of the white plague and kindred ills which decimate the human family would be greatly decreased; if the thought of man were devoted to spreading the knowledge of the arts and sciences; to instilling into the minds of the masses the love of the good, the beautiful, the useful; to teaching man to emulate and vie with the best to render to his fellows, and hence to himself and his, the greatest public service, it would make for the social uplift of all mankind.

"War is the practice of the most consummate skill in the art of destruction—destruction of human life and human product. Peace affords the opportunity to develop the best that is in man, both productive and constructive. It is the noblest attribute of man's duty to man the world over.

It is a travesty upon intelligence to assert that men trained in the art of, and organized for war and destruction, make for peace. Incidentally in every occupation or profession an individual may see the wrong in it and protest against the tendency, but the men who have given either their whole lives or many years thereof to the study of the art of war must be expected to hope and work and bend every effort for the creation of an opportunity by which they can bring their art and profession into practice. It is as unthinkable for financiers to long exist without money, doctors without patients, lawyers without clients, wage-earners without work, as soldiers without war.

"If we hope to reach the time when wars among nations shall be no longer, its consummation and the efforts toward its attainment must be made, not by those who are trained in the profession of the soldier nor by those who bind their faith to his influence for peace, but by the men who love peace for the sake of peace and for the sake of humanity.

"The workingmen of all countries often note with impatience the platonic declarations for the maintenance of international peace, and the spread of civilizing influences throughout the world; they recognize that there is too little foundation upon which to pin their faith.

Labor welcomes, without being carpingly critical, any effort which may be made that shall bring peace to the peoples of the world. Labor sincerely declares that the time must come, and come soon, when the world will recognize that peace is as essential to the full development of industry, to commercial and civilized life, as is air to human life.

"Organized labor recognizes that primarily the interests of the workers and generally of the peoples of the world, are identical and it constantly cultivates the spirit and bond of brotherhood.

"Labor realizes the fact that industry and commercial competition constantly become keener the world over; that standing armies are often used for the purpose of opening up new markets for so-called 'surplus products;' that these entail the dangers of fratricidal wars between international competitors, and that, therefore, upon the shoulders of the intelligent working wealth producers, the wage-earners of all countries, devolves the larger responsibility for the preservation of peace; that the voice of Labor must become more potent in the formation of a great international public opinion, such a public opinion before whose supreme tribunal both monarch and merchant must inevitably bow, and that wars of aggrandizement and greed must be relegated to the oblivion of the barbaric ages.

The expedient so often resorted to by rulers of a foreign war to stifle internal discontent is now no longer tenable. The people have tasted freedom; their lives are intensely interwoven in the world movement for its attainment; their souls yearn for its fullest fruition, their hopes can not longer be diverted, nor their aspirations thwarted.

Among the masses there is an eternal verity in their aspirations for liberty, their historic struggles to emerge from slavery and serfdom into free men, which neither tyranny nor greed can long continue to overcome. The bondman and the vassal of the past, typified by the man with the hoe, stand today upright, intelligent, with head erect, stout-hearted and determined to take their places among the men of the nations of the earth, no longer to be armed by a master or goaded on to venture their own lives in the effort to destroy the life of their brother man.

"In all civilized countries there is an earnest effort afoot among the people for rational development along evolutionary lines to solve the material, political, moral, and social problems confronting them. These must no be retarded or interrupted by brutal wars.

"I come to you with the credential of the latest declaration of the organized labor movement of America, which, in the convention of the American Federation of Labor a few weeks ago, averred: "We reaffirm the doctrine of international brotherhood and urge the trade unionists of America to join in promoting all movements having for their purpose the elimination of the cruel barbarism of war."

"With that declaration clearly ringing forth, the hopes, the aspirations, and the determined purpose

of America's workers, I join with you and all others pledged to the high resolve that war among the nations of the world shall once and for all be shunned from the face of the earth and give way to the higher, nobler, and more humane purposes of peace and humanity. I come to you with that clarion call of labor, expressive of the hope that through the international court now established that resolve may be crystallized into eternal peace. But, lest these hopes may be dissipated, it may not be amiss to bear in mind that in the last analysis the masses of the people of all countries have it in their hands to exert their own giant power to compel peace, and who, if otherwise thwarted, will not hesitate to exert it."

#### LAUNDRY WORKERS INDORSE CARMEN.

At a meeting held in the Labor Temple last Monday evening, the following resolutions were adopted by Laundry Workers, Local No. 26, by a unanimous vote:

"Whereas, The Carmen of this city are now out on strike for better conditions and eight hours; and "Whereas, They have used every means to bring these conditions without a strike; and

"Whereas, Every overture of settlement that they have offered has been rejected and treated with arrogance and contempt by Mr. Calhoun; and

"Whereas, The position that Mr. Calhoun has taken in the present struggle is entirely antagonistic to the principles of unionism and therefore antagonistic to every organization of labor; and

"Whereas, We are a union of organized labor and. therefore Mr. Calhoun's position is opposed to us and all affiliated unions; and

"Whereas, We are an affiliated organization striving for the same end, better conditions and eight hours; and

"Whereas, Mr. Calhoun, through his stand, has forced the Carmen to strike against their will, and as his actions are the exponents of the Citizens' Alliance, which has taken this time and opportunity to attempt to break the ranks and strenth of united labor; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That Steam Laundry Workers' Union Local No. 26, in regular meeting assembled, give to the striking Carmen in their strike our sympathy and support, both moral and financial; and be it further

"Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to assist in whatever manner we may be called upon to do so; and be it further

"Resolved, That eight hours is the clarion of labor, that we urge and encourage the Carmen to stand firm for eight hours in this struggle for independence; and be it further

"Resolved, That these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this union, and copies be sent to the press of San Francisco and a copy be forwarded to the Carmen's Union, Division No. 205."

#### BARBERS.

At the last meeting of the Barbers' Union it was decided to impose a fine of \$10 on any member found riding on any of the cars of the United Railroads during the strike. The barbers decided to parade on Labor Day and a committee was appointed to make arrangements for the celebration. Following is the committee: Daniel Tattenham (chairman), J. Eberle, J. A. Beck, S. Ramon and Charles Koch.

At the semi-annual meeting of the District Council of Laundry Workers, held in San Jose, the following officers were elected for the ensuing term: State President, Charles Rosenhahn; Vice-President, G. W. Kelley of Oakland; Secretary-Treasurer, S. H. Gray of Oakland; Executive Committee—Guy F. Thurber, Charles Rosenhahn, Robert Ewing, G. W. Kelley, S. H. Gray, James Brock and H. Veit; Sergeant-at-Arms, John Knight.

It is better to resist (wage reductions) and lose than not to resist at all.

Resist every attempt to reduce wages.

Men of labor, no wage reductions!

#### SOCIAL WASTE.

BY IRA W. HOWERTH.

A nation is a corporate body whose welfare depends upon the well-being of all its parts. It has interests of its own, and means of advancing those interests. Its land, its fields, and its forests, its mills and its mines, its factories and its railroads, all its wealth, are its material means, and its people are its spiritual means, for achieving its destiny.

Any wanton exhaustion or destruction of these means for private profit, any neglect or failure to employ them to the best advantage of all its people, is social waste.

Social waste may arise from the destruction of wealth without an equivalent promotion of the public good. It may arise also from the failure of the people to use all the agencies of social advancement—land uncultivated, labor unemployed, wealth lying idle.

It may follow from the premature exhaustion of these agencies, as, for instance, by "butchering" the land, by the unrestrained exploitation of forests and mines for private profit, or by the over-employment of the labor power of a country so as to weaken and exhaust it. Again, it may be a consequence of failure to provide means and opportunity for the discovery and development of the latent powers and aptitudes of the people.

Every mechanic, inventor, poet, artist, philosopher, or statesman repressed by poverty represents a social waste. There is no calculating the loss of a genius.

The misdirection of labor, the less than possible results of labor, due to lack of organization, the unnecessary duplication of railroads, factories, stores, and other industrial plants, furnish still other examples of social waste.

Finally, social waste results from any expenditure of social means or energy which does not bring to all the people the highest possible result in genuine well-being.

The criterion of waste is ideal economy, and the question that must always be asked is not—

question that must always be asked is not—
"Has good been done?" or "May good be accomplished by a given expenditure of social means or energy?" but "What might have been or might be accomplished by the most intelligent expenditure?"

This being the standard of waste, what are we to say of ourselves as a people? It must be admitted that we are not a shining example of economy. A new country with vast resources is likely to be extravagant. Opportunities for individual aggrandizement are so great and alluring that the public good, especially in the "long run," gets little consideration. So we have been blind to the inevitable results of the unrestrained exploitation of our natural resources for individual profit. We have allowed private citizens to destroy, for instance, our forests, so that at the present rate of consumption our timber supply will be practically exhausted within another generation. We have permitted the monopolization of a large part of our coal fields, our iron and copper mines, our oil fields, so that they are exploited for private profit and not primarily for public good.

We build our cities without adequate protection against fire, and from this cause alone suffer an annual loss of \$150,000,000 to \$230,000,000.

We do not secure adequate protection for life and labor; hence the mills slay their thousands, and the railroads their tens of thousands. Much of our labor power is unused and more is not used to the best advantage.

We fail to secure the service of the tramps, for instance, of whom there are, perhaps, 150,000, and of an indeterminate number of idle rich, who regard their idleness as a badge of superiority.

We lose the labor of the unemployed, of whom there are, on the average, considerably more than a million. We waste the potential service of millions from the fact that they are out of place, employed in occupations or under circumstances that are uncongenial, and are hence less efficient than they might be.

Worst of all, we destroy our labor power at its

source by the employment in industry of 1,750,000 children.

This is economic folly, in comparison with which the traditional conduct of the man who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs is wisdom itself. The nation that persists in drafting its children into industry, in plucking its labor power before it is ripe, is predestined to go down.

But perhaps the greatest, though least obvious, waste of labor power is in the production of commodities, and the rendering of services, that are altogether useless from the standpoint of the highest well-being. If society exists for the welfare of its members, and if the ideal of industrial conditions involves the approximate elimination of waste, then it is plain that all labor employed in the production of commodities that are used to satisfy abnormal or depraved appetities is pure social waste. Professor Marshall, the English economist, says that England spends half a billion dollars, and the other classes two billion dollars in ways that contribute little or nothing to true well-being.

But if labor spent upon articles of vulgar and vicious indulgence of appetite is a social waste, the labor employed upon articles of equally vulgar ostentation and needless luxury is equally so.

No intelligent society directing its labor for the best interests of its members would employ a part of that labor in producing luxuries for some while others were starving for the necessaries. Yet that is what we are doing today. Some men surfeit with too much; others starve with too little. Some so-called "society women," for instance, clothe themselves in splendor, and bespangle themselves with jewels, while other women, equally valuable to society, sell their virtue for the means of keeping body and soul together.

When protest is made against extravagance, we are told that the waste of the rich is the salvation of the poor; that if the rich did not roll in luxury the poor would starve. If that is so, it is the strongest indictment that could be drawn against modern industrial society. It could not be true in a scientifically organized society, for then, life, not work, being the end, it would be plain that the waste of anybody would mean more work for somebody. But it is fallacy any way you take it. The more the rich waste the more the poor must work.

The idler and the spendthrift who prates that his profligacy and extravagance give employment to others, should be reminded that the pauper and the criminal do the same. The more thieves there are in society, the more employment there is for officers of the law and of penal institutions. It is not employment that men want, but life, and giving some sorts of employment may mean depriving men of the opportunity to live.

The remedy? Well, there is no cure-all. There are many palliatives. Organization of labor, scientific farming and forestry, irrigation, abolition of special privileges, protective legislation, abolition of child-labor, and eight-hour work day and a thousand other means and measures are methods of promoting social economy.

Obviously social waste cannot be entirely elinunated without a scientific organization of labor, not for profit, but for public weal. This will doubtless be progressively realized. We have passed the stage of unrestricted individual exploitation of our natural resources for private gain. The right of collective interference on behalf of labor with industrial methods and conditions that are harmful to life is all but generally admitted. The ideal for which we should strive is the use of all wealth to promote life, and the employment of every ounce of labor power without harm to the laborer, in such a way as will produce the highest result in the health and happiness of the people.

But even a scientific organization of the work of society would not necessarily of itself diminish the labor employed in the production of articles that are useless from the standpoint of life. To bring this about, men must cease to demand such articles. They must buy only such commodities

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as are life-giving. They must spend less for liquor and more for life, less for vanity and ostentation and more to make life dignified, beautiful and happy.

A man is not a "good fellow" merely because he wastes his goods, and the woman who dresses extravagantly merely to excite the envy of other women is as worthy of condemnation by all right-minded persons as the man who gets drunk on the street.

Changed standards of judgment, a new public opinion, are as necessary as legislative reform. Industrial and social progress may be brought about, ought to be brought about, by progressive organization among the wage-workers. But improvement in organization demands improvement in men.

#### FRANK FOSTER IN A NEW ROLE.

Frank K. Foster of Boston, in an address recently delivered under the auspices of the Central Labor Union of Brocton, assumed the role of a member of the Citizens' Alliance. He said in part:

I apprehend that you have come here this evening expecting to listen to a repetition of those stale and superficial arguments by which so many workmen have been deluded into the support of trades unionism. I have some slight acquaintance with the speaker who was to have addressed you, Mr. Foster of Boston, and by mutual agreement we have exchanged places for the evening, be going to address a meeting of the Citizens' Alliance in Worcester and I, who was to have spoken there, doing myself the honor to visit your union afflicted manufacturing city. It may be that you will not agree with much that I have to say, but I trust that you will hear me with judicial spirit and pardon the subterfuge by which I have gained your ear.

It is possibly needless to inform you that we of the Citizens' Alliance view your organizations of labor with profound distrust. In the words of the president of the Boston branch of the Alliance, who is also the president of the National Bottlers' Association, the "union must be stamped out" if we are to have industrial peace in the country. I will tell you why this should be done.

Associations of labor are fundamentally unsound and inimical to the best interests of the country. There is a tremendous power in associated effort, and when this power is used with the prudence and wisdom exercised by business and professional men in the conduct of their affairs the community profits thereby. The great promoters of the organizations of capital, men like Harriman and Morgan and that truly good philanthropist, John D. Rockefeller, have rendered a great public service. They have eliminated unwise and unnecessary competition, correlated the antagonistic elements in an industry and brought order out of chaos. The people rise up and call them blessed.

But how different is all this when you come to consider the organizations of labor. Here you have ignorant and unthinking men, whose basest passions are appealed to by unscrupulous leaders actuated by no moral impulse, but stimulated by ambition for power and greed, for high salaried and luxurious official positions. What destructive doctrines are taught in your union meetings! What flagrant violations of law and order are practiced in your union methods! What lessons of social discontent are taught by your public speakers!

But possibly you will say that without social discontent there is no social progress. It is true that conditions do not change of themselves. But here again it is proper that we should rely on the thoughts of the wise and the acts of the great. Let a Moses lead, a Galilei and Newton discover, a Columbus explore, a Webster orate, a Roosevelt dictate, but let the shoemaker stick to his last and the wage-earner listen to the injunction of St. Paul, "Servants, obey your masters."

I shall not asume that the trade union has not procured a substantial wage increase for its membership. If I did this the facts would be against me, and I desire to prevent facts only.

At a reasonable estimate I suppose that the union people of America are receiving hundreds of millions of dollars annually more than they would be geting were it not for the existence of their un-But this, after all, is a small matter. love of money is the root of all evil," and the honest wage earner should find his most satisfactory recompense in the "joy of work" rather than in dollars and cents. And it is an open question, after all, as to whether high wages benefit the laborer. Is it not altogether possible, for instance, that the 10 per cent increase which has recently been added to the munificent wages of the factory operatives would be much more wisely expended if retained in the hands of the judiciously educated people who draw dividends from the mill stocks? There are great missionary works needed to be performed in foreign lands, there are gentle Filipinos to be educated, Hottentots to be clothed, and universities to be endowed, and these funds, which the mill operatives will probably expend in riotous living, gaudy finery, automobiles and some possibly for beer, might go far if retained by the people who know best how to use it. There are immense possibilities here when we think of the great inincrease in wages which the miners, the railway employes, steel and Standard Oil workmen and many other classes of wage earners have received and which we of the Citizens Alliance think they will not spend judiciously.

Again, you claim that trades unionism has reduced the hours of labor and given more leisure to its membership, I freely grant this, but deny the beneficence of the result. I shall not say anything about the impairment of our economic efficiency caused by the reduction. Theoretrical rot and nonsense on one side, you know as well as I that a man cannot do so much in eight hours or nine hours as in ten or twelve hours, and the loss of this productive work leaves our country just so much poorer. This accounts in part for the terrible industrial depression through which we are passing, the impoverishment of our manufacturers and the slump in the market price of all manufacturing stocks.

But this material loss is of small moment compared with the moral ravage incurred in the workmen's life through the shorter workday. truly did that good old man Isaac Watts remark that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands And Satan still chuckles with glee whenever, he sees a notice for the establishment of the eight hour day. The colored man of the south was given his freedom before he knew how to use it, and a pretty mess the reconstructionists made of it. Now, is there any one here who will presume to assert that the average man knows how to use the shorter workday? If so, let him stand up or remain forever silent. The trusted agents of our alliance have made a close examination of the subject, and they prove by irrefutable evidence that the contrary is the case. When a man is at work, you know he is not in mischief. There are some good men who like to work overtime, who would pay for the privilege, but the average worker has no such virtue. You will find him in the saloon, and the saloons of Brocton are notoriously crowded to overflowing. You will find him on the street corner, in the billiard rooms and bowling alley, in the ballroom, sailing in his steam yacht or running down inoffensive pedestrians with his bubble buggy-doing in fact, all of those things which should be reserved for the amusement of the propertied classes. You may even find him at home or in the public library, studying that pernicious literature of social reform which depends upon an exaggerated social indictment for its inspiration and draws the conclusion of a blatherskite social equality as within the reach of a lopsided human nature, or, worst of all, you may find him in the union meeting, where, with other half baked intellects, he rails at the employers of labor and concocts nebulous schemes with the object of getting something for nothing.

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#### RESPONSIBILITY OF THE TRADE UNIONIST.

JOHN ROACH, SECY. AMALGAMATED LEATHER WORKERS.

Organized labor, by reason of its constantly increasing power and complexity, has assumed an importance that vividly reminds the wage worker that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." In its constituent parts there are so many defects that must be remedied before it can fully accomplish its mission that it is difficult at random to determine which should be given precedence; but I feel sure the average unionist will agree that the member who absents himself from the meetings and takes but little or no interest in its affairs is capable of much harm and greatly retards the progress of the movement.

The absent member falls an easy prey to the wiles of the hot-head and the demagogue and seems ever ready to lend his support to wild-cat schemes, conceived in ignorance and born of inexperience, that always threaten the stability and many times the existence of the Union.

The absent member considers himself the smartest man in his local and he is sure to have at his finger ends any part of labor's history that treats of disaster and defeat. He can give you day and date for every mistake that was ever committed; he knows just where the worst routs occurred, the precise court that launched a death-dealing injunction, the names of the men who suffered imprisonment for failing to obey the legal writ, the exact sum in damages mulcted from trade unions at various times, and he is sure to point out to you why the whole labor movement is doomed to destruction.

He feels convinced that most labor leaders are corrupt and if the policy of local officers or general officers of his Union does not coincide with his views, he immediately advertises his brother Union men as "grafters," and in the event of an election no chicanery is too despicable for him to resort to, to accomplish their defeat.

His morbid reasoning is never satisfied until with jealous eye he goes through the whole catalogue of Unions and voices his condemnatory opinion of every man therein who in the past or the present has taken any active part in the work.

The absent member is also, as well as a critic, a veritable Solomon; so profound, so wise, so farseeing is he; and if when he occasionally visits his local Union, his views on union regulations are not adopted, he is overwhelmed with surprise and gives this sometimes as a reason for not taking more interest in his organization.

The absent member unfortunately does not confine his carpings to things generally, but applies them directly to the policy that tried leaders by experience have found to be correct. There is not a single thing done that suits him, every rule that is passed is wrong, every one defeated is right, every plan adopted faulty, and his prediction of swift and sudden disaster sufficient to alarm all except those who know the pessimist at his worst.

The absent member is never satisfied with the officers his union selects, and if it should chance he accidently attended a meeting on election night and his name was proposed and defeated, his lugubrious prophecies are all the more nauseating.

He is not a pleasant or encouraging person tor a non-union man to meet; there is nothing in his philosophy calculated to encourage a fellow workman to join a trade union; and he carries such a settled air of melancholia that it takes a courageous man to go into the same organization with him. If Providence in perfecting the grand scheme of creation left a niche for this kind of a union man, it has never been discovered, but until it is we must suffer patiently.

The inattention and neglect of the absentee has operated most forcibly to shatter the faith of the thoughtful union man in the initiative and the referendum, and in many instances he has made of this mighty lever of democracy a howling farce. Sometimes a handful of members alter or entirely change the policy of a local union, or a small percentage of an entire organization, impulsively and unwisely embark on madcap innovations that spell ruin to years of patient effort, national in its scope.

The fire eater appealing to the passions and prejudices of men has his innings when but a small number transact affairs that affect the many, and his false pandering to envy and suspicion has in the past sown the seed of disintegration in the ranks of many a labor union.

In a labor meeting it is much more attractive and popular for the ambitious spell-binder to inflame his hearers with a woeful recital of their wrongs, denounce the employer, and demand immediate redress of grievances, than it is to discuss calmly and rationally business measures calculated to so strengthen the organization that it may acquire the power to right wrongs long endured.

The preacher of conservatism who believes in careful, patient effort—an inch gained today, another next week or next year-is never a popular idol; while verbal pyrotechnics illuminate the horizon and seduce

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the clear reasoning of men who have their bread and butter, their homes and babies in the balance. The tide of humanity in its ceaseless ebb and flow has cast up many a wreck on the shores of time that was caused by the blind folly of the imprudent and impatient would-be reformers.

The hardest lesson we have to learn is that mere denunciation or the passage of a resolution will have no more power to correct economic abuses than a presidential proclamation would to temporarily suspend the law of gravitation.

The rapid transit reformer who burns with impatience to cut the Gordian knot of poverty and misery that binds the limbs of so many millions of earth's wage earners, is not an innovation; he has been with us from the beginning of time, and perhaps may be necessary if only that a contrast shall be made.

At the breaking out of the Civil War, many people in the Northern States had a most erroneous idea of the combative strength of the South. It was quite generally believed that ninety days would settle the whole question, and that a campaign south would be a good deal of a lark. Thousands of ninety-day soldiers, who, as subsequent events proved, had only about thirty seconds' courage, enlisted thirsting for a share of easily secured glory. A few skirmishes, and especially at the conclusion of the Bull Run fracas, and the ninety-day men were rudely awakened to the stern truth that they were in a grim struggle that would try men's souls. Those who enlisted for cheap glory and an easy time were as anxious to quit as they had been to begin, and led by the great heart of Lincoln, true patriotism inflexible in victory or defeat, bore the brunt of the struggle that saved the

The absentee of the local union has many of the characteristics of the "tin soldier." He has deceived himself as to the character of the struggle, he imagined he saw a nice, easy, pleasant way to distinguish himself in the eyes of his fellow men. But gradually as the magnitude of the struggle unfolds itself to him, as the intensity of the conflict becomes apparent, his heart palpitates, his knees grow weak, and his enthusiasm shrinks as a pin-stuck toy balloon.

It is at this stage of his life that he becomes invested with the character of an absentee and sometimes he joins that cringing pack of moral jackals who snap on the ranks of the organized workers and deride every effort for amelioration that sober reflection has made.

But the great conflict between capital and labor continues on unabated and is neither lost nor won in one campaign; the conduct of the absentee in failing to shoulder his share of the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the union is harmful but not necessarily fatal; bitter experience has taught the union men that the leader who promises much and will hazard the whole fabric of his organization in a strike, has become a leader not by reason of his fidelity to labor, but because of the honor and emoluments that attend the place; and that his appeals to their sense of suffered wrongs was inspired by selfish and personal motives.

The leader born of experience and with all the dross burned away is he who will advise only after careful reflection, basing his opinion on his experience, and delivering it without regard as to the way it will sound to his constituents. It is men of his calibre that have made a united labor movement possible, that have brought the wrongs suffered by the working people to the attention of the public, that have permeated the press with the spirit of unrest, planted the germ of agitation in the soil, compelled legislatures to act, enlisted the sympathetic co-operation of the pulpit, and imbued the manual workers with the sense of confidence in their own efforts as well as in the justice of their cause.

True trade unionists are those who have learned that not only are they who have rights "who dare maintain them," but that patience and sacrifice are more essential than turbulence and brute force. Some light has been brought into the life of every worker, however sodden it may have been, and thinking men

cannot contemplate with composure the possible destruction of the organized labor movement. If its progress or permanence depended on carping critics, absentees, stay-at-homes, or the blundering policy of the nervous impatient, the path to economic betterment would not be blazed as plain as it is today. The trade unionist preaches a doctrine of cheerfulness and encouragement; if he points to starving women in hellish sweat-shops, or fatigue-stricken babies in Southern cotton mills, he also outlines a plan for the relief of the sufferers. The men and women in the labor movement are patient, courageous and willing to sacrifice, and they remember the beautiful words of the Battle Hymn:

In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea.

With a glory in his bosom to transfigure you and me,

me,
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make
men free.

#### HINDOOS IN CANADA.

Immigration is as vexing a problem to British Columbia as it is to the United States. Having excluded the Chinese and Japanese by an increased Dominion head tax, that province is now confronted with a human influx from India. Since Hindoos are British subjects, the problem is one of increasing difficulty. These newcomers are Sikhs, or lower class Hindoos, with no definite aim and restricted in their employment or labor by caste, which is of four shades—Behmins, or sacerdotal order; Kshatriyas, soldiers and rulers; Sudras, laborers, and Pariahs, outcasts.

The Canadian arrivals belong to the Kshatriyas and Sudras. The prohibitions of their sects, unless surrendered, will unfit them for service in Canada. They must do their own cooking or partake only of food cooked by members of their own caste; different castes cannot work together, nor can one be the agent of the other. Even where employed in any number, at present their work is not the equal of the Orientals. In trade and domestic knowledge they are sadly deficient, and are unfit physically for laborious pursuits. They are tall, slender and gaunt, poorly clad, poorly fed and poorly housed. shack in Vancouver, at one time occupied by a family of two parents and twelve children, notoriously insufficient for their wants, seventy Hindoos find lodging. Six times heretofore the health authorities have ejected families from this hovel because it was overcrowded. Six persons is its full complement! Here, like sardines in a box, these destitutes are cooped, and occasionally relieve their monotony by sanguinary contests, in which blood flows like water.

More than twenty-five hundred arrived in British Columbia during 1906, and public opinion is decidedly against them. Writing in *The Canadian Magazine* for February, J. Barclay Williams, a Canadian, outlines this situation in a pessimistic fashion and reaches the conclusion that the Sikh is useless to Canada; that he will become eventually a burden to the Dominion government, and suggests that the Indian government be advised of the unfortunate lot of its subjects now on Canadian soil. He closes thus: "That the time is not far distant when the Sikh will retrace his steps is the popular belief, as it only needs the necessary cost of transportation to induce him to do so."

During the recent financial flurry there was a greater shrinkage of values, watered and otherwise, in a shorter period of time than in any similar panic in the history of the United States.

Labor has firmly resolved, and unalterably and absolutely determined to resist wage reductions, no matter if the reductions are offered as "a way out" of financial stress.

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- -Union Clothing
- -and Furnishings

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#### DIRECTORY OF LABOR UNIONS.

Labor Council—Meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 316 Fourteenth street. Secretary's office and head-quarters, San Francisco Labor Temple, 316 Fourteenth street. Executive and Arbitration Committee meets at headquarters every Monday at 7:30 p. m. Organizing Committee meets at headquarters on first and third Thursdays at 8 p. m. Label Committee meets at headquarters on first and third saturdays, at 8 p. m. Law and Legislative Committee meets Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at headquarters. Headquarters' telephone, Market 2853.

meets Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at headquarters. Headquarters' telephone, Market 2853.

Alaska Salmon Packers—Ramon Villannera, Secy.;
headquarters, 1131 O'Farrell.
Bakers, No. 24—Meet at headquarters, 1st and 3d
Saturdays, 1791 Mission.
Bakery Wagon Drivers—Meet 2d and 4th Sundays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Bakers (Cracker) No. 125—2d and 4th Saturdays,
Labor Temple, 316 14th.
Bakers (Pie)—Meet 1st and 3d Wednesdays, Mission Turner Hall, 1sth and Valencia.
Barbers—Meet Mondays, Labor Council Hall, 316
14th; headquarters, 2211 Bush.
Barber Shop Porters and Bath House Employes—
2d Wednesdays, Fourth ave. and Clement.
Bartenders, No. 41—Headquarters, 990 McAllister;
P. L. Hoff, Secy.
Blacksmiths (Ship and Machine), No. 168—Meet
1st and 3d Thursdays, 2089 15th.
Blacksmiths' Helpers—Meet 1st and 3d Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Bookbinders, No. 31—Meet 1st and 3d Fridays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Boot and Shoe Workers, No. 216—D. Tierney, 612
Elizabeth.
Boot and Shoe Cutters—Meet 1st and 3d Fridays,
8:30 p. m., Moseback's Hall.
Bootblacks—1st and 4th Sundays, Broadway and
Kearny.
Brewery Workmen, No. 7—Meet 2d and 4th Saturdays at headquarters, 260 Noe;
meet 2d and 4th Thursdays,
Beer Bottlers, No. 293—Headquarters, 260 Noe;
meet 21st and 3d Tuesdays at headquarters.
Box Makers and Sawyers, 2d and 4th Thursdays,
Beer Bottlers, No. 293—Headquarters, 260 Noe;
meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays at headquarters.
Box Makers and Sawyers, 2d and 4th Thursdays,
Beer Bottlers, No. 293—Headquarters, 260 Noe;
meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316
14th; headquarters, 306 14th.
Boat Builders—1st and 3d Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316
14th; headquarters, 306 14th.
Boat Builders—1st and 3d Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th;
Boat Builders—Headquarters—1st and 3d Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th;
Boat Builders—Headquarters—1st and 3d Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th;

Boat Builders—1st and 3d Wednesdays, 1408 Golden Gate ave.

Bottle Caners—Meet 3d Tuesdays, Labor Council Hall.

Carriage and Wagon Workers—1st and 3d Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.

Cigar Makers—Headquarters, 316 14th; meet 1st and 3d Thursdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. No. 9—D. J. Grace, 33 Brighton street, Station L.

Cemetery Employes—1st and 3d Wednesdays, Wolf's Hall, Ocean View.

Commercial Telegraphers—A. W. Copp, Sec'y, 3111 School St., Fruitvale.

Coopers (Machine)—Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.

Coopers, No. 65—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.

Cooks, No. 44—Meet Thursdays, 8 p. m., headquarters, 1834 Ellis.

Cloak Makers—Headquarters. 1517A Golden Gate ave., meet Tuesday, 1411 Geary.

Drug Clerks, No. 472—Meet Fridays at 9 p. m., at headquarters, 1834 Ellis.

Cloak Makers—Headquarters, 1517A Golden Gate ave., meet Tuesday, 1411 Geary.

Drug Clerks, No. 472—Meet Fridays at 9 p. m., at headquarters, 1834 Ellis.

Cloak Makers—Headquarters, Sheet Metal Workers' Hall; meet Tuesdays.

Freight Handlers—Meet 1st and 3d Wednesdays, 14th and Church; Headquarters, 6 Bluxome.

Freight Handlers—Meet 2d Sunday, 1133 Mission.

Garment Workers, No. 131—Headquarters, 6 Waller; meet 1st and 3d Thursdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.

Gas Workers—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th st.

Glove Workers—Meet 2d and 4th Fridays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.

Hackmen—Meet Saturdays, McNamara Hall, 14th bet. Church and Sanchez.

Horseshoers—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, 182 Church.

Hotel, Restaurant, Bar Miscellaneous—Headquarters, 1111 Laguna; H. Huber, Secy.

Hatters—C. Davis, Secy., 1458 Market.

Lew Wagon Drivers—Meet 2d and 4th Saturdays.

Janitors—Meet 1st Sunday, 3d Monday, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.

Journeymen Horseshoers—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Labor Temple, 316 14th st.

Laundry Wagon Drivers—E. T. O'Day, Secy., 577 Duboce ave.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods—1st and 3d Thursdays, 677 McAlliste

Mailers—Secretary, F. Bardrack, 1717

Berkeley.

Marine Cooks and Stewards—46 East.

Molders, No. 164—Meet Tuesdays, Labor Council
Hall, 316 14th.; headquarters, 316 14th.

Molders Auxiliary—Meet 2d and 4th Mondays, Labor
Temple, 316 14th.

Metal Polishers—Meet 1st and 3d Wednesdays, 2520
Howard.

Milkers—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays at headquarters,
Helvetia Hall, 3964 Mission.

Milk Wagon Drivers—Meet every Wednesday, 417 Haight.

Musicians—Headquarters, 63 Haight.

Newspaper Mailers—F. Barbrack, Secy., 1741 Blake street,
Berkeley.

Berkeley.

12 Meet 1st Mondays, Labor Council

Berkeley.
Pavers, No. 18—Meet 1st Mondays, Labor Council
Hall, 316 14th.
Post Office Clerks—1st Tuesdays, Polito Hall,
16th bet. Dolores and Guerrero.

Pile Drivers. Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—
Headquarters, Mission Street Bulkhead; meet
Thursdays, Firemen's Hall, Stuart Street.
Piano, Organ and Musical Instrument Workers, No.
12, 1st and 3d Fridays, Labor Council Hall,
Printing Pressmen, No. 24—Meet 2d Mondays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th; George L. Berry, Business Agent, 306 14th.
Pattern Makers—Meet alternate Saturdays, Pattern
Makers' Hall, 3134 Twenty-first.
Press Feeders and Assistants—Meet 2d and 4th
Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th; headquarters, 308 14th.
Rammermen—1st Tuesday, Labor Temple, 316 14th.
Retail Clerks, No. 432—Meets Tuesdays, 8 p. m.,
at headquarters, 1422 Steiner.
Retail Shoe Clerks, No. 410—Meet Mondays, 8 p. m.,
headquarters, 1422 Steiner.
Retail Delivery Drivers—Meet at headquarters, last
Thursdays, 417 Haight.
Stationary Firemen—Meet Tuesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Steam Laundry Workers—Meet 1st and 3d
Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Steam Laundry Workers—Meet 1st and 3d Mondays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th; headquarters, 316 14th.
Street Railway Employes, Division No. 205—Meet
Tuesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th; headquarters, 316 14th.
Street Railway Construction Workers—Meet every
Thursday, 1133 Mission.
Sallors' Union of the Pacific—Meet Mondays, 44
East.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers—Meet 1st Sunday,
2 p. m., Labor Temple, 316 14th.
Ship Drillers—Meet 4d and 4th Eridays 22d and

Thursday, 1133 Mission.
Sailors' Union of the Pacific—Meet Mondays, 44
East.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers—Meet 1st Sunday,
2 p. m., Labor Temple, 316 14th.
Ship Drillers—Meet 2d and 4th Fridays, 22d and
Folsom.
Ship Joiners—Meet 2d and 4th Sundays, 14 Folsom; headquarters, 10 Folsom.
Ship Scalers—H. Woodville, Secy., 209 6th ave.,
corner California; meets Mondays, 1 Vallejo.
Sail Makers—Meet 1st Thursdays, Labor Council
Hall, 316 14th.
Soda and Mineral Water Bottlers—Meet 1st Friday,
Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Soda and Mineral Water Drivers—R. E. Franklin,
649 Castro.
Sugar Workers—Meet 3d Tuesdays and 2d Sundays,
610 Tennessee.
Soap, Soda and Candle Workers—Meet 2d and 4th
Wednesdays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Stable Employes—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays,
Church and Market, Union Hall.
Tanners—Meet Wednesdays, 24th and Potrero ave.
Tailors (Journeymen), No. 2—Meet 1st and 3d Mondays, Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Teamsters—Headquarters, 523 5th; meet Mondays,
1133 Mission.
Theatrical Stage Employes—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 11 a. m., Labor Council Hall, 316 14th.
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers, No.
14—1st and 3d Fridays, 22d and Folsom.
Typographical, No. 21—Headquarters, 308 14th,
H. L. White, Secy.; meet last Sunday of month,
316 14th.
Upholsterers—Meet 42A West Park St.
Undertakers—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 2666 Mission.
Waiters, No. 30—Headquarters, Scott and Eddy;
meet Wednesdays 3 n. m. at headquarters 1195

sion.
Waiters, No. 30—Headquarters, Scott and Eddy;
meet Wednesdays, 3 p. m., at headquarters, 1195

meet Wednesdays, 3 p. m., at headquarters, 1195 Scott.

Waitresses, No. 48—Meet Mondays, 2 p. m., at headquarters, 509 Golden Gate ave., Rooms 40-42.

Web Pressmen—4th Mondays, Labor Temple, 316 14th st.

Water Workers, No. 12,306—Meet 1st and 3d Wednesdays at 335 Noe st.

A Kansas man asserts that he recently saw a rat with horns. As the authorities insist that the prohibition law is being enforced in Kansas, there

must be something wrong with the soda water in that

State.-Washington Post.

Lady Godiva was about to mount her horse. "Hold on!" cried her manager. "You can't go that way. Wait for your costume." "Nay, nay, my dear George," she replied. "This affair is very informal. I'm going just as I am."-The Gadfly.

The attendant in the dentist's office approached the man with the swollen jaw who had just entered. "Do you want to have a tooth extracted?" she inquired. "Want to!" he snorted. "Want to! what do you think I am, a lunatic? I've got to."-Ann Arbor Chaparral.

Magazine Editor-Your sonnet has literary merit, but I can't use it because it does not conform to the established rules of sonnet writing. Ambitious Young Contributor-That is its chief merit, sir. It establishes a new form for the sonnet.-Chicago Tri-

Chicanelli, who had to leave on a journey before the end of a case begun against him by a neighbor, gave orders to his lawyer to let him know the result by telegraph. After several days he got the following telegram: "Right has triumphed." He at once telegraphed back: "Appeal immediately."-Il Mundo

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Although Eablis, 719 Market.
Arrow Printing Co., 255 McAllister.
Arrow Printing Co., 2136 Golden Gate Ave.
Barry, Jas. Co., 212 Leavenworth.
Baumann-Strong Co., 110 Church.
Beleher & Phillips, 1617 Mission.
Benson, Charles W., 425 Berry.
Bien. San Francisco (Danish-Norwegian).
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Boltle & Braden, Oak and Franklin.
Britton & Rev., 215 Bays.
Brown & Fower, 418 Sansome.
Britton & Rev., 215 Bays.
Brown & Fower, 418 Sansome.
Buckley & Curtin., 38 Mint Ave.
Bulletin, The, Lombard and Sansome.
Buckley & Curtin., 38 Mint Ave.
Bulletin, The, Lombard and Sansome.
Calkins Newspaper Syndicate, 24 Clay.
California Printing Co., 2054 Market.
California Printing Co., 2054 Market.
California Printing Co., 2054 Market.
Collett Bros., 1902 Sutter.
Collins, C. J., 3358 Twenty-second.
Clements Printing Co., 255 Washington.
Clements Printing Co., 255 Washington.
Clements Printing Co., 1874 and West Mission.
Chronicle, The, Market and Kearny.
Coast Scamen's Journal, 44-46 East.
Crackbon & Tonkin, 22 Leavenworth.
Coast Scamen's Journal, 44-46 East.
Crackbon & Tonkin, 22 Leavenworth.
Davis, H. L., 1552 Eddy.
Davis, Nolan Co., Market at Franklin.
Davis, Printing Co., 2076 Howard.
Davis, Printing Co., 2076 Howard.
Davis, H. L., 1552 Eddy.
Davis, Nolan Co., Market at Franklin.
Davis, Printing Co., 258 Walender.
Ellite Printing Co., 358 Twentteth.
Eureka Press, The, 643 Golden Gate ave.
Goldwin & Styter, 185 Crie.
German Demokrat, 61 Third.
Gilmartin & Co., Folsom and Spear.
Finding Co., 259 Natoma.
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Hastings Printing Co., 350 Fell.
Helvelia Printing Co., 350 Fell.
Helvelia Printing Co., 350 Fell.
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Telegraph Press, 4150 Eighteenth.
Terry Printing Co.. 2488 Mission.
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Townes-Meals Co., 1411 Post.
Upton Bros. & Delzelle, 115 Welch.
Upton & Williams, 112 Hayes.
Van Cott, W. S., 1561 Post.
Wale Printing Co., Fillmore and Bush.
Wallace Larssen Co., Inc., 955 O'Farrell.
Weiss, M., 639 Baker.
Williams, Jos., 626 Willow Ave.
Wolff, Louis A., 64 Elgin Park.

BOOKBINDERS

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128) Barry, Ed., 508 Commercial.
(93) Brown & Power Co., 418 Sansome.
(19) Hicks-Judd Co., 270-284 Valencia.
(47) Hughes, E. C., 725 Folsom.
(100) Kitchen, Jno. & Co., 1580 Geary.
(129) McGeeney, Wm., San Francisco.
(130) McIntyre, Jno. B., 1165 Howard.
(131) Malloye, Frank & Co., 1132 Mission.
(110) Phillips, Wm., 712 Sansome.
(28) Stanley-Taylor Co., 544 Bryant.
(132) Thumbler & Rutherford, 721-723 Larkin.
(32) Upton & Williams, 112 Hayes.
(133) Webster, Fred, 1250 Hayes.

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Bolton & Strong, 1620 Fifteenth.
Britton & Rey, 215 Bay.
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California Photo Engraving Co., 141 Valencia.
Calkins Newspaper Syndicate, 24 Clay.
Commercial Art Co., Brady and West Mission.
Davis, Nolan Co., Market at Franklin.
Phoenix Photo-Engraving Co., 325 Eighth, Oakland.
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FACE to FACE

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# **GREETING:**

We take pleasure in announcing the opening of the "SHIELD OF QUALITY" Shoe House—a Union Store with a full line of Union Stamped Shoes.

"Shield of Quality" Shoe House

508 VALENCIA STREET, at Sixteenth

The Compliment Fell Flat.

"John," said Mrs. Harkins, "I heard a nice compliment about you today."

Mr. Harkins put his paper down, twisted up the ends of his mustache, looked pleased and said:

"Well, that's nothing so remarkable. I receive compliments nearly every day."

Mrs. Harkins went on sipping her tea, and her husband waited for her to resume. Finally he said:

"Well, why don't you tell me what it was? Who was it that complimented me?"

"Oh, you couldn't guess in a week."

"Mrs. Deering?" he ventured.

"No."

"Not Bessie Fallington?" he rather eagerly suggested.

"No."

"Oh, well, of course, if there's any secret about it, I don't care to hear what it was or who said it."

"There isn't any secret about it," Mrs. Harkins sweetly replied. "Mr. Hannaford told me that every time he and I met he became thoroughly convinced that you were a man of excellent taste."-Ex.

#### Why He Seldom Smoked.

Several ladies sat in their club a few evenings ago discussing the virtues of their husbands.

"Mr. Bingleton," said one of them, referring to her life partner, "never drinks and never swears-indeed, he has no bad habits."

"Does he ever smoke?" some one asked.

"Yes; he likes a cigar just after he has eaten a good meal. But I suppose, on an average, he doesn't smoke more than once a month."

Some of her friends laughed, but she didn't seem to understand why.—Ex.

Eastern man-Are those Indians union men? Chief Mudhorse-No understand. What you mean by union men? Eastern Man-Well, union men work only eight hours a day. Chief Mudhorse-Union men heap much damn fool-Indian work eight hours a week.—Ex.

"Sold your automobile, eh?" exclaimed Wyss. "What was the trouble?" "Couldn't control it," explained Acher. "When I ran fast it took me to the police court and when I ran slowly it didn't take me anywhere."-Harper's Weekly.

Hicks-I dropped around to see the Fitz Kloses in their flat last night, but I couldn't get in. Wicks—Not at home, eh? Hicks—Yes, they were all at home; that was the trouble.-Catholic Standard and

We hold this truth to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, but in order to leave no possible room for doubt about it, we insist upon the dress coat at all formal affairs.—Puck.

"Come in here, I wish to tell you a piece of gossip Mrs. Smith told me." "Is it good?" "Is it? I had to promise not to tell a soul before she would tell me." -Houston Post

Shea-How long have you been sick? Ryan-Five days. Shea—Glory be! An' why don't ye git a doctor? Ryan—Sure, I got to go to wur-ruk Monday marnin.'-Puck.

Tom-Mamma, let's move. Mamma-What for, dear? Tom-Oh, I've licked every kid in the block, an' there's no more fun here.-Chicago Daily News.

"You have no sense of humor," he complained. "You can't take a joke." "I took one when I got you," she bitterly replied.—Chicago Record-Herald.

Jennie-Did you hear of the awful fright Jack got on his wedding day? Olive-Yes, indeed-I was there and saw her.—Tit-Bits

Most any brand or style of underwear, woolen or cotton, sold by Summerfield & Haines, 1089-1091 Market Street.

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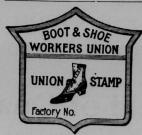
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